I spent several days in Ussolye talking with Tseretelli and was impressed by his arguments, but his program did not satisfy me. It called for long patient work within the split Socialist parties but left little opportunity for immediate action in each country. I saw the immediate evil in the chauvinist propaganda, and thought that it must be met by an educational campaign. Should not such a campaign start with an analysis of the war as a hopeless attempt to solve by force of arms problems that could be solved only by negotiation? In the course of the talks at Ussolye I decided that before publishing a new magazine I had another task to accomplish.

Back at Irkutsk, I plunged into work on a pamphlet entitled *A World Conflagration.* I worked feverishly and completed a booklet of some 160 pages in less than two weeks. Not certain how good it was, I read the manuscript to a group of two dozen S-D exiles. They were enthusiastic. Actually, it was not badly written but, along with a sound analysis of facts, it harbored some false notions. It overemphasized the idea of a stalemate and failed to recognize the possibility of the appearance of new forces on the military scene and the probability of scattered revolutions that would tip the scales in the military contest and lead to a chain of unconditional surrenders rather than a negotiated peace.

In Ussolye opinion concerning my essay was divided. Tseretelli was most critical and reproached me for lack of international spirit in handling an essentially international problem. Indeed, I had given little weight to Tseretelli's central idea—international action by the Socialist parties. After making some minor changes, I mailed the manuscript to St. Petersburg. The publisher to whom I offered it wired that he was sending it to the printer. A month later he sent me some sixty galleys, each with a large stamp: "Forbidden by the Censor of the First Military District." [2]

Discussing my essay with friends in Ussolye, I evolved the idea of publishing a magazine that would present our views on the war in a systematic series of articles in the first issue, leaving to chance whether a second issue would follow. Tseretelli agreed to join the editorial board and present his views in his own words. I would elaborate my ideas, as would other contributors, within our common conception, decidedly rejecting both national unity and defeatism.

[2] Later I met the censor who had banned the booklet. In 1917, under the Provisional Government, I was appointed Commissar of the Northern Front and charged with restoring the morale of the troops. One high officer with whom I worked was the commander of the 45th Corps, General Boldyrev. Once, when we were inspecting the troops together, he told me that the only sensible book on the war he had ever read was submitted to him for censorship and he had to forbid it. He remembered the title: *A World Conflagration,* but did not recall the name of the author.